1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

latest hurricane of which there is definite record (7, 1915) occurred on January 9, 1914. This was preceded by a severe storm on December 14, 1913. Visitors who landed on Pukapuka on April 24, 1914, recorded that the high seas had washed away all but seven houses and flooded all the talo swamps. The wind blew down from the trees all the mature nuts and swept them into the sea. The people took refuge in the higher parts of the talo beds and subsisted on immature nuts and fish. The government schooner transported 52 Pukapukans to Rarotonga and settled them there until the Pukapukan food supply should reach normal again. A hurricane, which swept the Cook Islands in February 1935, was marked by exceptionally high seas in Pukapuka, but did no damage.

In former times, when no relief from outside was available, tidal waves and hurricanes must have produced famines on Pukapuka, or else reduced the imminence of famine by drowning the majority of the population. Previous to the tidal wave of 300 years ago, the population of the atoll was probably between 1,000 and 2,000. After the wave swept over the island, the population was reduced to 15 men and their families. Famines gave rise to many of the killings recorded in Pukapukan history, owing to quarrels over the control of the available food supply. It was no mere coincidence, therefore, that formerly the morning rising of the Pleiades in late May, heralding a season of good weather, was accompanied by dancing and feasting. The London Missionary Society church merely continues an old pattern when it holds special services in March to render thanks for safety during the preceding hurricane season.

Native Weather Lore

The compass directions are named after winds (fig. 2) which are associated with the villages as follows:

Ngake: Kaitua, Masuke, Malangai, Malangai tonga, Tonga, Mulitonga, Keo, and Pua.
Loto: Wakaiua.
Yato: Tokelau iti, Tokelau matua, Wakatiu, Palapu, Yulu, Laki.

The association of villages with wind names seems to be derived from the geographical location of the villages and the lands which they control. Ngake, lying to the eastward, controls all the winds that blow on the east and south side of the atoll. Loto, between the other two villages, controls the only wind blowing from the sea onto the outer beach opposite the reserve of Uta. Yato, to the westward, controls the winds that blow over the reserve of Niua and across the reef joining Wale to Kotawa. The names of these winds are used in the chants of each village for symbolic reference; no village, in composing a new chant, would mention the name of a wind belonging to another village. Though the matter is now very vague, it is possible that

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Payments

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Mention has been made of services which are paid for. A man who borrows a canoe gives fish in payment. A man who engages a medicine man may make a return of food for his services. Distribution of food and gifts accompany the building of a house or canoe:

When a man decides to have a canoe built and has assured himself of the necessary timber, he makes arrangements with his relatives to have a stocktaking of available food supplies. They then increase supplies deemed insufficient, by planting more talo, placing a prohibition over growing talo, and by acquiring more pigs which are fattened by a diet of coconuts. When the food is sufficient and has all been mobilised, the work is started. Groups of relatives assume responsibility for providing food day by day for the carpenters, bunches of nuts in the early morning and staple foods in the afternoon. The prospective owner of the new canoe is obliged to provide liberal quantities of food in order to avoid the reputation of stinginess and meanness. When the canoe is finished, it is launched and taken fishing for one or two days. This fishing is termed *wakeyina te vaka* (oiling the canoe). The biggest fish caught is given to the head carpenter, the remainder, after gifts (*matanga*) have been made to the chiefs, goes to the feast (*vakamalienga*) for the canoe builders. A good catch of fish for the new canoe is called *vakeyinaga matala* (lucky oiling). At the final feast (*malienga*) for the workers and for those who have assisted in providing food to finance the construction, every endeavor is made to have a great display of food. At this time gifts, depending on the size of the canoe and the wealth and status of the owner, are given to the builders. Average gifts in former times for a large canoe were: for each assistant carpenter, one fishing line of *uwa*, one anchor line of sennit, one paddle, and one pearl-shell fishhook; for the chief carpenter, the same in addition to one sennit malo and one fishing rod, preferably a bonito rod, complete with four or five bonito hooks.

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The amount of food distributed to recompense workers building or thatching a house depends on the size of the house.

For one average-sized sleeping house, 1,600 nuts, 800 *manus* (talo puddings, each weighing about 8 ounces), and four pigs were provided; 100 nuts, 100 *manus*, and one pig were distributed among the staff that killed and cooked the pig and prepared the talo; of the remainder each man and woman received two *pona* (pieces of pork 5 × 4 × 2 inches); each man received seven *manus*, each woman five *manus*, each child one *manu*; each man and woman received 20 nuts, each child one nut. This feast, originally prepared for the workers, who were drawn from the hymn-singing group (*pupu imine*) of the village, was divided among the village as a whole because of the great quantities of food. The owner of the house acquired increased status through this inclusion; everywhere remarks were made about his generosity.

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To celebrate the completion of the present London Missionary Society church, each village in turn feasted the whole island. These feasts were the largest that are remembered within historic times on Pukapuka. Four talo puddings, each weighing about 5 pounds, were provided for each man and each woman; one pig for each man; 1,600 nuts for each man and each woman, with proportionately smaller amounts of all these foods for each child. Even though quantities were given away to a trading schooner that happened to be visiting the island, large amounts of the food were left to rot, proof that the time was one of great feasting and abundance.

Feasts are held in each village at Christmas time, when in alternate years groups of men and of women visit and dance in the villages away from home. Each village is host to these groups of visiting dancers, and provides food

1/ [i.e., to prevent its being harvested--analyst.]

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to distribute among them. The food prepared by Yato village for Christmas, 1934, is typical of the amounts distributed: 104 *ava* fish from its fish pond, 500 cooked talo tubers, 100 limes, and 37 papayas from Motu Kotawa, 210 drinking nuts and 20 bottles of coconut and salt-water sauce (*tai*). This was divided among about 100 visiting women.

Feasts

The important part played by the food division in distributing wealth throughout the community may be best seen in a summary of the characteristic features and types of feasts. The Pukapukan feast (generic name, *imu kai*) does not connote an eating together by the parties to the feast. The essence of the feast is a food division. The food is collected and then divided among all concerned, often among the people who have themselves provided the food. It is then taken away and eaten by each household group in the privacy of its own cook house or near by. The Pukapukan *imu kai* is a mechanism whereby stimulus is provided for the extra production and distribution of food on socially set occasions, that all concerned may eat more abundantly than usual and by this eating symbolize a bond of relationship between two groups of people.

To honor another person, a man or woman sends chicken, nuts, and uncooked talo. The gift, also termed *imu kai*, is cooked and eaten in privacy. On an enlarged scale, the same mechanism prevails for feasts, save that the division of collected food operates to give back to each approximately the amount of food that he has contributed. The amount of food expected from each household is settled beforehand. Anyone who fails to contribute accordingly does not share in the division. In this way, it is assured that the contributions will be equal in amount and quality and that no one will be unfairly favored in the subsequent division. All contribute, share, and eat the same foods. For feasts to pay workers for their services, relatives are expected to contribute food. The person for whom the work is being done is expected to contribute in quantity or quality sufficient extra food to ensure that relatives do not suffer too severely in the division.

Named Pukapukan feasts are:

1. *Monotonga*, a big feast for the island. Occasioned in former days by the induction of a chief, today it marks the completion of some village or island enterprise, such as the building of church or meeting house. The feast might be provided by all three villages at one time or by each village in turn for the other two villages. At a chiefly induction, arrangements were handled by the sub-chiefs and the group of elders (*tupele*), who decided the nature of the contributions (amount of food, size and variety of talo dishes, kind of fish, etc.) to be made by each village. For such an occasion as this, the paternal lineage of the chief might provide the *monotonga* for the rest of the island, if the lineage were wealthy in food supplies and wished to make a grand gesture indicative of its wealth. A well-remembered *monotonga* feast occurred in 1916; the talo harvest

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on Motu Ko was so large that Ngake village made a present of 2,000 taro tubers to each canoe from the other two villages that went across to Ko to get the food. This was an act of generosity, marking no set occasion.

2. *Leveya*, a village feast held today on the completion of some village activity. It formerly occurred on the rising of the Pleiades to celebrate the beginning of the season of plenty. It was timed to coincide with the lifting of the prohibition (*lawi*) on village food reserves. The communal gathering of food for such a feast is also called *leveya*, as *leveya heveu* (crabs), *leveya manu* (birds). A *leveya* after a tapu period ensures that after the period of privation the special foods will be shared among all the villagers. If taro, nuts, and fish are plentiful when the tapu is raised, the *leveya* feasting may last for one or two moons. After a preliminary survey of the food resources, the village men decide how many divisions there are to be in each moon and how many moons the food is likely to last. Starting with the first night of the new moon, divisions may be made every 10 days, the last one to coincide with a new moon, either in the first or second month after the commencement of the feasting. This emphasis on the moon as a governing factor in the *leveya* feast links with the custom of replanting taro and other food plants on the days of the new moon to ensure good growth.

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3. *Ngaluenga*, the feast which is held for a village guard at the end of its service in the reserve land or to pay the workers thatching a new house (pp. 56, 76).

4. *Whakmalinga*, the feast provided by the owner of a new canoe or of a new sleep house (not cook house) for the food contributors, the workers, and the principal people of the island. It is a bigger and more elaborate food division than the *ngaluenga*, though not elaborate enough to be classed as a *moneianga*.

5. *Kavehave*, a feast celebrating the end of a fishing contest (*malama*) or other inter-village contest. The food is provided by the whole island. Formerly the old men's group and the sub-chiefs decided on the contribution to be levied from each household. Today this levy is fixed by an informal meeting of village representatives.

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Other feasts discussed in their special context are:

Wanle, tuuneyanga, and *puhi*, food divisions for the birth of children; *unitiuna*, food division on the occasion of an important marriage; *puyia wale* and *lulukunga*, feasts at death ceremonies; *lauheva*, food divisions held at the command of the chief to mark his induction, the birth of an heir, or a death.

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Iuua hai o te wua is a food division among members of the maternal lineage held on no set occasion, but whenever there is abundant growth of taro in the gardens controlled by the lineage.

Special names are given to the feasts of the paternal lineages:

262 613

Lauvatangi (animal intestines), feasts of the two Ngake paternal lineages; *malolo ahi* (flying fish on the reef), feasts of the Yato lineages; *lingalinga* (land shells), feasts of the Loto lineages. These three names refer to the fishing set-up of the three villages. Ngake and Yato are the rich fishing villages with plentiful supplies of fish for their feasts; Loto is poor in fish supplies and the reference to land shells is indicative of the small amount of flesh food that this village could supply its guests. For these feasts, the reserve lands of the villages are opened by special arrangement, and special delicacies are expected—birds from Kotawa, turtle from Ko, and extra supplies of nuts from Uta. A paternal lineage gave a feast of this type at the conclusion of some special work—the building or rethatching of its god house, clearing the ground around its religious structure, clearing up its cemetery, building a new *ziongo* (religious avenue). When other paternal lineages learned that one group proposed to hold a feast, they all joined in sending courtesy gifts of food.

The mechanism is: a Ngake lineage is giving a feast; each household of the Ngake group is levied so much prepared taro; each household makes this amount of taro food and extra taro puddings for friendly households in the other villages which have uni-

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mated privately that they will make a food contribution. The levied amount is sent to the main food collection along with the food received from the friendly households; when the food division is made, each friendly household receives in return from its Ngake friends the amount that it contributed, but the return gift is taken from reserve stocks that the Ngake household has made, over and above its levied contribution. A little extra food may be taken from the share of the Ngake household and added to the return gift so that families from other villages may receive the precise amount of food that they contributed plus a little more from the main division. The reciprocity is complete, but the addition to the return gift, a bit of fish or a few nuts, creates the cultural fiction that the host lineage has fulfilled required patterns of generosity. The food exchange has helped seal bonds of friendship between two households, without seriously impoverishing the hosts.

Official food dividers (*tangata tau popoa*) function for the big feasts:

Formerly, the group of elders (*tupuna*) chose its own food dividers for the fish brought to it by the men's fishing groups. The chiefs had their own dividers for *kaukava* feasts, as did the paternal lineages and villages for their feasts. The food dividers were skilled men. Their position was not hereditary; if they were careless or cheated, they were summarily dismissed. With the exception of the dividers for the old men, who received certain pickings but who might not share in other foods reserved solely for the chief, the food dividers were supposed to share equally with the people for whom the division was made, though in fact they might secretly reserve for themselves as their own share better portions of fish or slightly larger talo puddings.

When the *tangonga* group of fishermen (p. 281) returned each day from fishing, the canoes were met by the two food dividers for the old men, who carried the fish from the canoes to the dividing place. When neither of the food dividers was able to carry a big fish to the meeting place (*ananga*), the old men called for volunteers, and the man who could carry the fish was given the privilege of dividing it.

FOOD PREPARATION

The staple foods of Pukapuka are fish, coconuts, and talo. Fish and coconuts are eaten every day, talo less often; but talo is important as a quality food which gives variety to an otherwise monotonous diet. Most talo dishes consist basically of a mixture of talo and coconut cream (*lolo*). Two standardized methods of wrapping food in bundles preparatory to baking are used only for talo dishes (fig. 6). Each food eaten, whether fish, talo, or coconut has a definite food complement (*kinaki*) which is eaten with it to make a complete meal.

The two methods of cooking food are oven baking (*tao*) and grilling (*tunu*) on hot stones or embers. Grilling is the preferred method for cooking fish.

Fire

Fire (*ahi*) was formerly produced with the fire plough. The method was demonstrated to me. The hearth stick of *puapua* wood is called *lakau iha ahi*. The rubbing stick, also of *puapua* wood, is *kauaati*. The hearth groove is *ihanga*. To rub the stick on the hearth is *ihaiha*, and to make fire thus is *maka ahi*.

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TALO DISHES

262 621 The supply of talo varies from village to village and from household to household and is conditioned also by seasonal factors:

> Ngake owns Motu Ko, and its extensive talo beds allow this village to draw on a large supply of talo. But because the reserve is distant from the village it is only during visits there to make copra that the villagers eat talo every day without stint. They bring back large baskets of talo on the return from the reserve. When this supply is exhausted, the village depends on the very limited number of talo beds on Wale, save on the occasion of large feasts when the women make special trips to the reserve to harvest talo. In general, then, Ngake does not have a large supply of talo and has to be as careful as Yato in its everyday use. Loto, on the other hand, has a regular and large supply of talo in the reserve of Uta on Wale on which it can draw constantly and extensively. This is a factor in the arrangement whereby members of households in other villages affiliate (*tau*) with Loto, so that some of this supply of talo is drawn upon by the other two villages. Yato village, with only small beds on Wale, has the least talo of the three villages. During their visits to Motu Kotawa the women fetch talo from Wale, making a constant drain on these beds throughout the year. Individual household differences within the three villages have resulted from vagaries of lineage and private ownership of the beds not communally owned.

[527] 574 264 At the present time talo is regularly harvested on Saturday in preparation for the weekly feast that follows early morning church on Sunday. A little talo is occasionally eaten as a special treat on Saturday evening with some of the fish caught that day. Left-overs from the Sabbath feast are eaten on Sunday night or Monday. On the remaining days of the week talo is rarely eaten. Exceptions to this are all holidays and special feasts. From Monday to Saturday, in the normal run of events, most households eat exclusively coconuts (drinking nuts and their flesh, *uto*, *takataka* nuts, *tipipi* and *mukomuko*) and fish. Pandanus fruit and an occasional banana or papaya are added to this diet.

No talo dish is reserved for special occasions; any dish is made when the spirit moves. *Mawu* and *olo* are made for large feasts oftener than are the other dishes. Each must have its proper food complement. In 262 general, the *kinaki* for talo puddings is fish or pork. Special *kinaki* are mentioned for individual recipes. Informants characterize all the talo dishes, without exception, as sweet (*malie*), delicious (*vena*), and very good (*lelei lava*).

252 Talo corms are prepared for cooking by scraping (*tele*) the mud off on a scraping peg (*tuhituhi*) with a coconut-shell scraper (*kai*). The corms are not washed previous to further treatment. To wrap talo in leaves and make the food packet is termed *yausi*, sometimes given as *ausi*. Talo preparations are:

> 1. *Lolo*. Whole corms are placed on a pile of *puapua* leaves (*wawao ki loto o te lau puapua*). The ends of the leaves are folded over the talo and the bundle tied with coconut leaves (fig. 6, e-b). The food packet (*lolo*) is baked in the *imu* for 1 or 2 hours.

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TOYS AND SPORTS EQUIPMENT

524 824 171 Pukapukan children are clever at making original toys from coconut leaflets. Coconut leaflet toys, made by children according to the technique described for Aitutaki (26, pp. 318-322), include the leaflet Jew's harp (*piva*), the windmill (*potaka launiu*), the leaflet bull roarer (*uakotaugidongi*), and the leaflet spinner (*uakaki matangi* or *uuti lole launiu*). Whereas the Aitutakian spinner is made with a collar and suspended with a banana leaf fiber (26, p. 321), the Pukapukan spinner is closed by skewering the two leaflet ends together with a piece of coconut leaflet and is suspended by a strand of human hair knotted to a thin length of coconut midrib.

A trick figure made from a strip of dried coconut leaflet is termed *te tiaoga a Maui* (fig. 49,*b*), because the gods gave this figure to Maui to see if he could disengage the two leaflet sections when they were testing out the culture hero. Children and adults spend much time trying to solve the puzzle, without success however, for the solution, if ever there was one, is now lost.

A coconut-leaflet trumpet (*pu launiu*) is made by Pukapukan children. Leaflet midribs are stripped from eight or more coconut leaflets;

> The leaflets are rolled spirally into the shape of a cone, successive leaflets being added by overlapping the ends. When a trumpet of suitable size has been made, the free end of the last leaflet is skewered to turns underneath with a small fishbone or splinter of wood. A reed made by doubling a piece of leaflet along the medial transverse line is inserted into the mouthpiece of the trumpet.

A favorite toy made during our stay was leaflet spectacles which children perched on their noses, pretending they improved their sight.

524 179 Two types of ball are in use: one is a round ball made of *uakanava* wood used in cricket; the other is a somewhat square object made by covering a stone with plaited cheek coconut leaf. Both balls are termed *bolo*, a name presumably derived from the English word "ball". Either the old name for the ball has been forgotten, or the ball is an introduced toy.

Coconut-cup shoes (*tui ngaiipu*) are made by threading a length of pandanus or sennit through the eye of a half coconut shell. The foot is placed on the shell and the cord passes to the hand between the big and second toes. 526 527 Children wear these shoes today for sport, but informants said that formerly adults occasionally held coconut-cup foot races during the time of merry-making that introduced the six months of pleasure.

177 Wooden stilts (*lole*), said to be introduced, are sometimes used by children.

624 The toy bow (*uana*) and arrow (*li*) made from coconut-leaflet midribs is an introduced toy. Marbles were also unknown formerly, but today children use as marbles (*pei*) seeds from the *matau* tree.

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GAMES AND AMUSEMENTS

The two seers, Wotoa and Te Yoe, brought back to Pukapuka some games they learned in the Underworld (p. 327). Pukapukan navigators to the eastern and western islands, notably the chief Wue, introduced the remainder of the games played in Pukapuka. A series of 48 string figures (3) collected in the field is not included in the following descriptions of amusements.

Organized plays, dancing, and singing, have a large part in the life of children (2), especially in the evening when they play together on the beaches, watched by the adults who move to the beach to cool off in the evening breezes.

Dramatizations of selected native traditions and dramatic performances of Biblical legends are popular. These are now held on May Day; formerly they were probably associated with the festivities marking the morning rising of the Pleiades. Each village chooses one or more legends for performance. These are rehearsed for some weeks and then presented in turn before the island assembled. The performances follow in general those described by Buck (29, pp. 198-203).

CHILDREN'S GAMES

Kio, played in the lagoon, on land, or in the trees. Two equal teams (*vaka*) of children line up and face each other in the lagoon. One team occupies deep water, standing on a coral rock (*tohu*). The other team is in shallower water. The deep water team dives from the rock, and, by swimming under water, tries to pass the line of defense of the inland team without being caught. Each member of the deep water team that gets past the inland team scores a point (*hai*) for its side, ten points giving a win (*to le ulu*). The teams take turns at defense and challenging positions until one team wins. In land *kio*, the teams stand about 15 yards apart, one team trying to run round or through the other's defenses. In tree *kio*, which is uncommon, one team defends a position in front of a tree, through which the other team must go to climb into the tree.

Wai (playing) *hio*. One player, usually self-nominated, is *hio* (it). He stands still while each of the other players comes up, hits him on the head with the hand, and runs away. When all have hit him, *hio* takes up the chase, which continues until he has caught and whipped each of the players.

Wahatou nena (hide and seek). A favorite in the evening when it is not easy to see. Two teams are formed and one goes off to hide. The other team gives it a few minutes' grace, and then announces, "Ka ulu!" (We shall search!) If after a thorough search they fail to find hidden players, they call out, "Wakaffuyu" (literally, get wet). Then those of the hiding team who have not been discovered walk in, scoring one point (*hai*) each. The two teams take turns at hiding and searching, the first team to score ten successfully hidden members wins the contest. With this victory goes the privilege of whipping the members of the losing team. These whippings are never severe; a gentle clip on the head or back with hand or stick suffices.

Wai atua wasasa (old name, playing spirit of the sea) or *wai Levi* (modern name, playing the seer Levi). Played on bright moonlight nights by small children, older girls, and grown women, of ages ranging from 5 to 40 years. Two circles (*wasasa*) are drawn about 50 feet apart. One player, usually the oldest, takes the role of Lewoia (the old name, a god), or of Levi (the modern name). He stands in one circle, all the

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along the ground. A badly thrown dart goes to the right or left of the *malae* or hits the ground at such an angle that the *ulutoa* head digs into the ground and stops the flight. After each throw the thrower rubs the dart shaft with coconut shell to make it smooth and so aid in the slithering motion.

In composite dart contests each village competes in turn (*uaiatele*) against the other two villages. Any number of men are allowed on a team (*lulu tane*), and there is no attempt to make the teams equal in number. All the men of one team throw first while the members of the opposing team gather around the *tuua* and try to make the throwers nervous by witticisms and ridicule. Pronounced facial gestures in throwing are: biting and compressing of lips, baring and clenching teeth, wrinkling forehead. After the men of the first team have thrown, a mark is made on the *malae* at the point where the farthest thrown dart came to rest. Then the members of the other team throw. One point (*kai*) is scored for each dart of one team that goes past the farthest mark of the other team. Both teams then walk to the opposite end of the *malae* and throw again. Throwing from alternate ends is continued until one team has scored 10 points and wins the victory (*ia te uku*). The winning team sings a special chant composed for the occasion, and the next contest begins. The lowest ranking team in any three-cornered competition, including dart throwing, is termed *palehinuli*.

Simple dart-throwing contests. Two teams of any number of men compete at one time. The *malae* is a strip of the village road about 90 yards wide with the two ends cleared for a distance of 10 paces, providing a smooth surface against which the simple dart (*tiko*) will ricochet. The thrower holds the dart (*tiko*) between thumb and middle finger, the index finger resting against the end and steadying the balance. The player turns sidewise, takes a few short steps forward, and throws the dart with a quick underhand forward swing of the arm. The aim is to make the end of the dart strike against the cleared place at an angle so that it will fly through the air in a graceful trajectory or skim along the ground. All the men throw from one end, then walk to the other end of the *malae* and shoot again. The scoring is the same as in composite dart throwing. The winning team chants after each win. Simple dart throwing is a very popular sport. The darts are quickly and easily made from *ngaiyu* wood. For many weeks before and after a contest the young men practice dart throwing each evening on the village road. The children make darts for themselves—even children 2 years old manage to acquire them—and both boys and girls imitate their elders, either throwing against each other in miniature contests or throwing darts before them as they go about their errands.

Running races (*uvivale*). These are popular today, but as they do not figure in old chants, there is some doubt as to their place in old-time Pukapukan culture. Races are held on the village road. In inter-village contests straight foot races are first run to determine the fastest runners. Then a series of "handicap races" is held. The slower runner stands on the starting line. A few paces in advance of him is the faster runner. At the signal the slower runner starts, and when he comes to the stationary faster runner, he gives him a push (*tuleki*), trying to knock him over but continues his own pace without too much slackening of speed. The faster runner expects the blow and tries to take it in such a way as not to over-handicap himself; he crouches to keep his balance so that he can spring up as soon as the slower runner passes him, and by this springing start to make up for his initial handicap before his opponent reaches the finishing line. It is not considered unfair to stall an opponent by running in front of him and across his track. A good runner is called *tangata vaevie* (man of swift foot).

Wrestling

Wrestling (*pepeiko*) is a very popular sport, and the Pukapukans pride themselves on being the best wrestlers among the Polynesians. Wrestling was one of the sports indulged in during the festival that formerly marked

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the morning rising of the Pleiades. It is now one of the many competitions that are part of the Christmas and New Year's celebrations.

At the present time there is little preliminary training before these bouts, but formerly training (*uakayaua*) was a prominent feature. The aim was to increase one's weight so as to make it difficult for an opponent to lift one from the ground. Hence the champions (*toa*) of the village went into seclusion (*kaitau*) for 30 days before a contest. A man remains thin even if fed the richest of foods, say the Pukapukans, as long as he is allowed to go out-of-doors in the sunlight. Feed a man rich foods and keep him covered up in a dark house and he will get fat and heavy in a very short time. A seclusion period for a festival wrestling contest is termed *kaitau lulu*. At the end of the period the men were released from the house of seclusion to practice wrestling for several days. The regimen during these few days provided that a man might not work lest he injure himself, or engage in other sports lest he strain a part of his body, or have sexual intercourse lest he lose weight or lose breath easily in a contest; he must continue to eat plenty of food and practice wrestling holds. On the day of the contest the long hair was smeared down with oil and fastened at the back of the head with a strip of pandanus. The body was smeared with oil, and the wrestler put on the malos of sennit and of pandanus.

The following account describes a series of bouts that went on all of one day. Apart from drawn bouts, 76 matches were contested to a win. Of this number Yato village won 32, Loto (the previous champions) won 19, and Ngake 25. At the next festival Yato would be the challenging village, and its champion the champion wrestler of the whole island.

When the wrestlers of the challenging village are dressed, they line up in file with their champion (*toa*) at the head and walk at an easy gait along the main street of the island. Their faces are serious; there is no laughing or joking. The villagers show no interest nor do they come from their houses to hear the challenge. Every 30 yards or so the men stop and the champion shouts out his challenge (*venanga*) to the men of that part of the village. The form of the challenge is: "E tai tane ikina, peiuia to malo, tai ake to uiu, yaele ake ki te one i te konga o mea" (Any man there, gird on your malo, prepare your hair, come to the ring at the place of So-and-so—mentioning the name of the place where the ring is erected). After shouting this challenge in many places in both villages, the group returns to the wrestling ring. Today this is the church ground, where shelters are erected, one for Yato villagers on the west side, one for Loto and one for Ngake on the east side. The people sit under these shelters, and the wrestlers sit in the shade of the thatched roofs. Formerly the ring was erected in any convenient open space, and the people sat in village groups.

Meantime the champion's ring (*one*) has been erected on the wrestling ground. Five or six poles of *ngangie* wood are pushed lightly into the ground in the form of a circle about 10 paces in diameter. A thin sennit cord is strung to these poles about 4 feet from the ground. The champion of the island, supported by a second called the *tua hawa*, advances from his shelter to the ring, where he challenges (*liolio*) the other men by beating his buttocks (*pahipaki te lamu*) with both hands and trotting around the outside of the ring with short, quick steps. At each halfway point he pauses, raises the

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukans

526 ing behind C leader and A men pushing behind A leader. The team that overwhelms and scatters on the ground the members of the other team wins the contest.

Stick-pushing contests (*tutuki*). Two men or two teams hold a stick between them and push against the stick in an effort to force the other side to give ground. The *tutuki* pushing contest, the method of establishing land boundaries (p. 33), was apparently also used as a sporting contest in former times.

Water Sports

Canoe-paddling races (*wainganga vaka*) and canoe-sailing races (*wainganga liaki vaka*) are held today. In the paddling races, men compete with men and women with women, the canoe crews ranging from one to five persons. A course is mapped out on the lagoon from the place in Ngake called Waletoa to a point on Loto beach. The canoes of two villages are launched and held steady by a man from the third village. At the signal the canoes are freed. The first canoe to beach is the winner. There is no chanting to give rhythm for the paddlers. In sailing races the course is across the lagoon to one of the reserve islets. The canoes are held with sails raised and set off at the signal. The canoe that beaches first at the agreed point is the winner. The winning village chants and dances to celebrate the triumph. Each village races with each of the other two villages in turn.

[521 533] Swimming races (*wainganga kaukau*). Held today between women and between men. Champions from each village race those of other villages; the races are over a lagoon course. Because there is no reference in old chants either to swimming contests or to canoe contests, it is again doubtful whether these are old-time sports. Surfing (*waikayekeyeke*), both body and board, is old, though at the present time neither competitive nor popular.

Fishing Contests

226 527 Inter-village fishing contests have survived vigorously to this day. They are of three kinds: *wainganga patuki*, rod-fishing contests from the reef for *patuki*, *tuao*, and other reef fish; *wainganga malolo*, flying-fish contests held at night; and *wainganga kakai*, or *malama*, deep-sea fishing contests. Formerly, and the pattern largely holds today, about two fishing contests of each type were held in the pleasure months between the morning rising and the evening rising of the Pleiades. About five days before a fishing contest, a prohibition (*kaui*) was placed by the chief over the reef or deep-sea fishing grounds to ensure that the grounds would not be depleted and also to give the men time to repair canoes and to prepare fishing gear. During these days the men were supposed to stay in their houses, to be serious-minded, to concentrate on the coming contest, to refrain from sexual intercourse, and to see that all fishing gear was in good order. This period is commented upon in many of the fishing chants; the pattern of a tapu fishing period, if not all the actual observances associated with it, survives today.

[834]

533 has provided a socially approved outlet for feelings of aggres-
154 sion and hatred. The glorification of the individual which is
578 implicit in the controlling patterns of Pukapukan society is evident also in the love chants and these too, have provided socially approved channels for the expression of sentiments of love and affection that might otherwise not find outlet in the somewhat matter of fact behavior which characterizes the relations between the sexes. It is no exaggeration to say that an ability to understand and feel all that is implied in the chants is the best possible way of gaining an appreciation of native Pukapukan culture. They literally provide a source book to the ideals and practices of this culture.

533 After each of the fishing competitions held during our visit, and during the sports competitions held at the New Year, each village composed and sang special chants celebrating its victories. In the fishing competitions for instance, on the night before the big public feast marking the conclusion of the fishing, men, women, and children of the winning village gathered together on the village meeting ground just after dusk and practiced throughout the night until dawn old and new chants in preparation for the public chanting on the last day. Again during the visit of the villages to the reserves to prepare copra, one or more nights each week was devoted by the adults of Ngake village to the learning of new chants and the practicing of old ones. These chant practices were alter-
[181] nated with nights of Christian hymn singing. The contrast provided between the sentiments of the more popular Christian hymns and the vigorous paganism of old chants symbolizes in striking fashion the apposition of ideals that characterizes Pukapukan society today.

Dancing

535 Two types of dancing, one old, the other new, are in vogue
527 in Pukapuka today. The modern type known by the Rarotongan
[177] name upaupa, is said to be derived from Tahiti and is performed by children on all occasions and by adults at Christmas time. On Christmas day, the men (or women, in alternate years) of each village form dancing teams which visit in turn each of the other two villages, where they are entertained by the women (or men) of the village for whom they dance on the village meeting place. The dancers are grouped in four lines facing a leader who sets rhythm and movements. As the dancing proceeds women join the group and dance opposite the men, files of women alternating with files of men. After dancing, the visitors are given a feast, and then move to the next village to repeat

535 the dancing and eating, their place in the first village being
527 taken by a team of dancers from the second village. The dancing is accompanied by rhythms beaten on wooden gongs, drums, and old tins. Older men or women accompany the dance teams. It is bad taste for a man to stay in the home village to watch the visit of the men from other villages for this would be spying on the women of his own village. Similarly, a woman does not stay home to watch the dancing of the women visitors to her own village. It is also bad taste for anyone to gossip at the end of the day about events in another village. It sometimes happens that as the dancers warm up, both men and women dance with an abandon that might otherwise be cause for jealousy.

535 The old form of dancing (yaka, pl. yayaka) accompanies chanting. It is seen today when victories in fishing and wrestling contests are celebrated. Rhythm is kept by chanting and by pounding on wooden gongs and formerly also on a shark skin drum. Today as formerly, the people of the village celebrating a victory decorate themselves in the green leaf kilts and shoulder leis (yei) made from materials associated specifically with the village in question. [see 1: Beaglehole and Beaglehole, pp. 153-154, category 116--analyst.] Men and women line up in file and dance along the road to the meeting place, today the village church yard, where they group themselves together at one end. They then begin to chant and dance. One person, usually the best male dancer, acts as a natural leader and sets the spirit of the dance movements by dancing alone in front of the main group. I cannot present an analysis of the dance movements, but a list of native terms defined by Talainga will give some indication of their nature:

Yaka in its narrower meaning, refers to the general swaying of the arms; inoino is synonomous.
Tuvali: to move the elbows up and down with outstretched arms.
Yayae: to move the knees in and out.
Pepeke: to sway the body up and down on tip toes.
Kapakapa is a fluttering movement of the arms suggestive of the movement of the wings of a bird.
Tutuku is the lowering of the body by bending the knees, or the rhythmic stooping of the body forward.
Wakamanga ki lunga is the raising of the arms to the level of the shoulders; tuku ki lalo is to lower the arms again.
Pu nou is to dance with the body bent forward from the hips.

535 or other possible named dances. No such names occur in any
533 of the chants or stories and informants knew of none. Dancing
527 was solely an accompaniment for chanting. Movements might vary for the same chant on different occasions. Selection of chants and dance movements for the special dancing that took place at the time of the morning rising of the Pleiades seems to have been equally arbitrary. There seems also to have been no connection between dancing and specifically religious ceremonial. Group chanting and dancing occurred at any time of the year, but more frequently during the six months pleasure-making following the rising of the Pleiades, after the frequent sports and fishing contests.

535 It is certain that the dancers became worked up to a high degree of emotional tension as the dancing continued throughout the day. Rapid movement, repeated rhythm, bodily contact, the suggestive effect of the words of the chants and the action accompaniments, all conduced to heighten emotion which found an outlet as the day came to an end in a wild burst of passionate lovemaking, mentioned in many of the chants recorded. The lovemaking was not promiscuous in the sense that avoidance or kinship tapus were broken down, but only in the sense that a certain license prevailed which overstepped rights based on marriage, and for the breaking of which there was no cause for anger or jealousy. It is again permissible
[154] to suggest that in a closely confined community such as Puka-
[578] puka, recurring periods of license acted as channels for the outlet of emotions directed towards the opposite sex which if cooped up might break out in anti-social violence.

Translation of Chants.

533 For the purposes of presentation, the chants have been
195 broken up into relatively self-contained line units so that the translation may be followed with greater ease. In actual chanting, however, each chant is recited as a unit and is not broken up into meaning phrases. The chanting is a continuous flow of sound interrupted only by breath pauses, but even these do not necessarily occur in group chanting when continuity is maintained by some chanters while others pause for breath. The chants recorded by informants without punctuation of any sort, were broken up into meaningful units in the course of translation.

Difficulties in translation resulted from the common use of clipped, shorthand expression, allusive and indirect reference to historical and religious aspects of the culture, the frequent use of hyperbole and obscure metaphors, and the wealth of double, symbolic meanings attached to many crucial words,

FIELD NOTES: MISCELLANEOUS

527 Christmas activities.

535 Christmas day itself was not marked by any particular activity save the women's tutaka and dancing. Post-Christmas activities have been the men's cricket matches.

Women's tutaka: The men of each village stay at home, and the women of each village, married, unmarried, young and old, including also an assortment of children, visit each village in turn not their own and dance for the men. They then eat and afterwards dance some more. The women of Yato thus visit Loto and Ngake, the women of Loto visit Yato and Ngake and the women of Ngake visit Loto and Yato.

526 Preparations: For about three weeks before Christmas day,
535 the women have been practising cricket in the afternoons and practising upaupa in the early evenings, later when the full moon came up, practising upaupa in the evening by moonlight. Men beat the gong and empty kerosene tins to mark the rhythm, and usually a crowd of men stand by to watch, pass witticisms or criticisms. The inevitable children play about among dancers or bystanders.

535 Dancing: Women's dancing is vaiau. The women stand in two rows, one woman behind the other, facing a leader who calls out directions for the dance and who also dances. (note that the women are in two single files) The dance movements are simple and there is little variety in the movements. They consist of brief waving hand motions, shuffling of the feet from side to side, or forwards and backwards, turning motions with a short jump, placing one foot forward and then drawing it back, and along with almost all these motions, wobbling of the backside and stomach from side to side, or else thrusting the backside forward and then drawing it back. Backside and stomach motions may be slow or quick according to the rhythm of the particular dance.

527 Tutaka: The men are looked upon as the hosts for the day.
574 The women prepare the talo for the feast, but a meeting of
[262] the men is held some days before Christmas to decide upon the other foods to be offered to the visiting women. In the case of Yato, the men decided to present fruits from Kotawa, nuts and deep sea fish. Christmas was on Tuesday. On the preceding Thursday, 30 lopas were commissioned to visit Kotawa, and bring back from there 60 nuts per man, also the necessary fruits, papaya and limes. Monday was set aside for fishing outside the reef, but the weather was too bad to venture outside the reef, so at low tide on Monday night, all the men went fishing inside the lagoon. The resulting fish was of poor quality, but it was the best procurable. Early on

527 Christmas morning all went to church. After this the men
574 hurried back to their villages to set out the food. In Yato the feast was set out on forms in the mission meeting house.

Later in the morning, a beating of drums was heard, and the women from Loto appeared along the causeway coming to the village. They were dressed in white and each had round her head a tiale and a wala yei. They were accompanied by other women not dancers, dressed in their best, together with children. The women slowly walk round the village, looking in at each house, (the houses have been specially tidied up
527 for the visit)..tutaka is "to visit"... and then back to the ala
535 by the meeting house. The gong begins the rhythm and the women begin to dance. The dancing is without much enthusiasm at first, as the women gradually work up form. All the men of Yato group themselves round the women, watching and enjoying the spectacle. Then one or two lopas get up and dance with the women, dancing alongside them or in front by the leader. An old woman, a sort of chaperone, walks up and down the lines of dancers and reproves, with a switch on the back from a stick she carries, any unseemly conduct on the part of her charges. After perhaps half an hour of dancing, all stop to eat. The woman are conducted to the meeting house, and the men wait on them, urging them to eat to repletion. Eating finished, the women go back to the ala again and the dancing commences anew. This time there is much more enthusiasm and spirit in the dancing. Two files of lopas align themselves alongside the files of women and dance with them. Hip movements and backside movements of men and women become more pronounced and the dance most favored is one which finishes by the lopa placing his leg and foot around his female partner's waist, dancing meanwhile on the other foot, coming very close to her waist and thighs, he facing her, and then for both partners to thrust forward at the same time their backsides with short energetic movements, obviously imitating the movements of copulation. This movement appears to be much enjoyed by all and it is repeated over and over again, accompanied by much emotional excitement. (The chaperone was not in evidence at this time.) After much of this and similar mixed dancing, drums are heard announcing the visit of Ngake women. The Loto women stop, and go off to Ngake. Yato men hurry off to clear away the remains of the feast and to prepare more refreshment for the newcomers. Ngake women come into the village, tutaka, dance in the ala, feast, dance some more, with the lopa accompanying them, and finding opportunities for the copulatory symbolism. In this connection the following two incidents were noted:

527 In the morning the Loto women had danced in a place on the
535 ala where I could see them from the house. In the afternoon,
834 the Henrys [the resident agent and his wife] visited and sat
152 on the verandah. The Ngake women refused to dance where I could see them, and danced on that part of the ala which is hidden from our house by an intervening house. The reason: knowing the Henrys' victorian sensibilities, they knew full well that Henry would disapprove of the dancing. Rather than curb their fun, for which indeed there was no reason to do, they referred to remain hidden, an implication being, I think, that the women and men are fully aware of the sexual symbolisms involved in this apparently mild Christmas dancing.

The second incident: During the course of Ngake dancing, P [Pearl Beaglehole] went out to dance with the Ngake women. Yato men, half in jest, half in seriousness, begged her to leave and not watch their dancing, saying that she would tell their wives afterwards what she saw. The implication here being, one supposes, that the proper place for a Yato woman was with the other women of this village, who might enjoy themselves how they could for this day with men from the other villages, but that for this day at least, Yato men should have full right to enjoy themselves with women from the other two villages, unspied upon by a woman from their own village, who might later tell tales 'out of school'.

[178] Note that throughout this day of dancing in the village, there
[182] has been no suggestion that any actual promiscuity in the
[154] sexual sense has occurred. It is possible, however, that if the idea of tutaka dancing is old, occurring formerly perhaps, at the time of takalunga of the rising of the stars mataliki, when much dancing and sport seems to have taken place, then sexual promiscuity in connection with it very likely occurred also, and in this case a day and mechanism was elaborated for conventionalising with social approval what would otherwise be likely to cause rents in the social fabric.

527 Finish of Tutaka: All three teams of women dancers proceed to Loto village, and dance competitively against each other to determine the best dancing team. Ngake was adjudged the best by the men of Yato, and the latter presented to the women of Ngake a shark-skin drum made by Makilae. The women danced until dusk and then the day was ended, save for a hangover of stomach disorders and mild fevers.

526 Men's activities: During the past weeks the men have been
461 also practising cricket, usually every afternoon and early evening. This in preparation for the series of cricket matches taking place on the three days after Boxing Day. During this practise period, other work has been at a standstill, and

526 informants have been unable to come to the school to talk two
461 afternoons a week on account of the cricket. This for two
weeks before Christmas. Other sport practise has been run-
ning and teka throwing in preparation for the sport program in
527 the new year. On the days before Christmas, they have been
744 busy getting food for the women's tutaka, and, along with the
241 women, cleaning up village grounds and houses in preparation
for the visit of Metua Henry's health committee of women.
This visit duly occurred on the Wednesday before Christmas.
In the week before Christmas, the people of Ngake lifted the
la'ui on Ko and all went across to Ko for three days to collect
nuts and talo, and to fertilize the beds with lau kotawa and to
do more excavating of new beds. Loto also went to its motu
on Wale to collect nuts, and Yato sent 30 lopas across to
Kotawa on one day to bring back nuts.

Man's cricket continues today, December 28th. Tomor-
row fishing to replenish supplies badly run short in the
recent four days' holiday. New Year next Tuesday, em-
bracing women's cricket and a three or more days' sport
program.

527 New Year Activities.
526 Xmas activities closed on Saturday, December 29th.
Monday was devoted to preparing food for New Year. New
Year games started on Tuesday, January 1st. On this day
was church, then all the people stayed in the churchyard,
people from each village grouped under its own shelter.
First there was imine, in which singers from each village
sat on the grass in the sun and sang for an hour each. Then
tug-of-war between teams from each village, including wo-
men's tug-of-war. Finally running races, in which runners
from each village visited in turn each other village. Wed-
nesday, January 2nd; Wrestling was held in the churchyard
throughout each day, the people grouped under their shelters
as before. Thursday and Friday, January 3rd and 4th, were
devoted to women's cricket, in which two teams from each
village visited in turn and played against teams from the other
two villages. The team is waka and the visit is tele, e.g.,
wakatele, the canoe sails. Saturday was devoted to food,
fishing for the men's tutaka on Sunday. Monday and Tuesday,
January 7th and 8th, devoted to tekateka, velovelo, and
coconut husking and climbing. Thus the sports program of
527 Christmas and New Year lasted two weeks. It was all under
794 the auspices of and supervised by, the deacons of the London
798 Missionary Church. Each day started and finished with prayer
by one of the church deacons present, and of course all the

527 activities took place in the churchyard or near-by. Members
794 of the Seventh Day Adventists and Roman Catholic sects have
798 not been present officially at any of the games, though many of the former have attended, including their pastor, for the wrestling. The absence of the Roman Catholics severely weakened some of the teams, but the pastors of both the London Missionary Society and the Roman Catholic Church will have nothing to do with each other.

527 The long period of sports meant a certain shortage of food.
262 The men went fishing early in the morning whenever it was possible, but there was in general little fish or talo in the villages and the most that people had was nuts. Each day the spectators of the sports, and this includes almost everyone on the island, all being out to enjoy the sports, and the company of their fellows, took with them a bundle of nuts and these eaten during the day together with more nuts, or a little fish at night, constituted the sole food of most for a week. The two Saturdays gave the woman a chance to prepare talo and the men to do extended fishing.

159 Dreams.

Veti: old man 60 years old, deacon of the church, etc. Had been talking to men of the village in a village discussion. Went home to sleep. Dreamt that he saw five Chinese. All Pukapukan people were gathered together in the church for the anointing of new members. Missionary and the deacons entered. But they could not start, they had to wait for Talainga and himself and the five Chinese. Though he had seen Chinese in Pukapuka off ships that called, he wouldn't have known that these were Chinese had he not been told by the people. Finally, after a delay, Veti led the five into the church. The deacons would not speak to him, excepting only Talainga, who asked why he had kept the five out so long. The Chinese started to talk Chinese, which Veti understood. The Chinese swore at Talainga, and told Veti to swear at him too, in Chinese, but he couldn't do this. Then they swore at the deacons, and Veti entreated them to stop. Frightened he led them out of the church; the congregation came out and the dream ended.

(Both Talainga and Veti had been working very assiduously at the sessions on ethnology; in addition, Veti was dictating old mako to Talainga to record.)

Lita, MitiMoa's wife: Dreamed that she walked along to the beach where she saw her grandson. She joined him and together they went out to the reef to fish. The little boy disappeared, having fallen through a hole. She cried out for him but could not find him. Then, suddenly the hole in the reef changed into